

175 northwest into the Yellow River region. The victory of Ch'in over Ch'u in 223 B.C. was followed two years later by the establishment of the first unified Chinese Empire. This process of Chinese unification, whereby consolidation of power in either the Yellow or the Yangtze river areas was the basis for further expansion and the establishment of empire, was repeated many times over in the succeeding centuries.⁴

B. The Foundations of Confucianism

• 812 In the four centuries before the emergence of the first Chinese Empire (221 B.C.), the principal philosophies with which China was to be occupied for the next two millenia were developed in the East China Region.⁵ From the small,

4. On the influence and fragmentation of the Chou state and the rise of the Ch'in unified empire see Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 25-68; Needham, op. cit., pp. 90-98; and Kenneth S. Latourette, The Chinese: Their History and Culture, 2nd ed., rev. (two volumes in one), Vol. I, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1934, pp. 42-83.

5. Readable summaries of the philosophers, their ideas and influence which are mentioned in the following pages may be found in H. G. Creel, Chinese Thought from Confucius to Mao Tse-tung, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953; E. R. Hughes, Chinese Philosophy in Classical Times, London, J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1942. For translations of the works of individual philosophers see "Suggestions for Further Reading," Creel, Chinese Thought, pp. 263-65.

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812 weak state of Lu in what is now southern Shantung there emerged during the sixth century B. C. one of China's and the world's most influential
[829] thinkers -- Confucius. He blended and refined elements of the early Chou code of chivalry and the older, popular cosmological beliefs of the Yellow River culture to achieve the idea of a unified state, functioning as a great, harmonious family of unequals under a wise emperor-father ruling by example with the aid of learned and virtuous counselors. In the last half of the fourth century B.C., the same state of Lu produced the philosopher Mencius, who further developed Confucian ideas along the line of their originator, and stressed the innate goodness of human nature.

The last great contributor to Confucianism before it became a state cult was Hsü-tzu. He was a native of the state of Ch'i, which occupied most of present-day northern Shantung, but he spent much of his life in Ch'u. Living in the third century B.C. when the power struggle in China had reached its height, he was more realistic
829 and tough minded than his predecessors. He differed from them in maintaining that man was innately evil and that he could be made a worthwhile citizen of society only through the ministrations of rites, rewards, and punishments by an authoritarian state served by Confucian scholars.

With additions and modifications, the Confucian doctrine became the state cult which governed Chinese thought and behavior for most

829 of the next two thousand years. The birthplace, grave, and descendants of Confucius have been honored by successive dynasties since the Han (206 B.C. to A.D. 220), and his direct male heir of the seventy-seventh generation now holds a sinecure as Officer of Confucian Rites in Formosa. Confucius and his doctrine fell into disrepute from the founding of the Republic (1912) through the early years of Kuomintang rule, but national recognition of his birth day was restored in 1931 at the time reworked elements of his philosophy were being revived by the Nationalist Government.⁶ It is important to note also that two years before Mao Tse-tung took part in the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, he went out of his way to visit Confucius' birthplace and grave in Shantung.⁷

C. Moism and Taoism

812 Between Confucius and Mencius, yet another great founder of a school of thought came to the fore in or near the state of Lu. This man was Mo Ti (Mo-tzu), whom some scholars make a native of Lu and others a native of the neighboring state of Sung. He expounded a doctrine

6. See Mary C. Wright, "From Revolution to Restoration: The Transformation of Kuomintang Ideology," The Far Eastern Quarterly, Aug. 1955, pp. 515-32, particularly pp. 520-21.

7. See Mao Tse-tung's autobiographical account as reported by Edgar Snow, Red Star Over China, New York, Random House, 1938, pp. 136-37.

- 812 of utilitarianism and universal love. More precise and systematic in his argument than his predecessors or contemporaries, he and more particularly his later disciples began to work out a methodology of argument that, along with his program for social improvement, endeared him and his followers to revolutionary thinkers of the twentieth century such as Hu Shih.⁸

The antithesis of Confucianism in China was Taoism. It had its beginnings in the time of Confucius, but its greatest exponent was Chuang-tzu, who is supposed to have lived in Anhwei during the last half of the fourth century B.C. The source of Taoism has been attributed both to a note of protest against the rise of the formalistic, aristocratic city civilization which marked the feudal system of the late Chou and to an element of thought prevalent in the Yangtze civilization. Oriented to anarchy and inaction, the Taoist philosophy opposed the rites, ethical system, cultivation of character, and learning of the Confucian school as well as the intellectualism and utilitarianism of Mo Ti and his followers.

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177 D. Sinification of the East China Region

The East China Region was brought into

8. See for instance Tsi C. Wang, The Youth Movement in China, New York, New Republic, Inc., 1927, pp. 12, 46-47.

175 both the Ch'in (221 to 206 B.C.) and Han
177 (206 B.C. to A.D. 220) empires. The reaction
of the independent Yangtze civilization to the
Confucian orthodoxy evolving in the last half of
the first century B.C. may be detected in the
thinking of Wang Ch'ung, a native of what is
[812] today Chekiang. A fatalist influenced by both
Confucianism and Taoism, he depreciated the
Han Confucianists' emphasis on the importance
of man, their belief in natural phenomena as
signs of heaven's judgment on human behavior,
and their acceptance of the authenticity of
ancient historical literature. His arguments
were fuel for Confucian revisionists during the
remainder of the imperial period and for the
anti-Confucianists of the republican era.

At the end of the Han Dynasty, the East
China Region with the exception of present-
day Shantung was still inhabited by mountain-
dwelling Yüeh and valley-dwelling rice cultiva-
tors who had not been absorbed into the Chinese
civilization. In the post-Han period of disunion,
the Wei Kingdom (220 to 264) centered on the
Yellow River, and the Wu Kingdom (220 to 280)
centered on the Yangtze River undertook active
measures to eliminate or absorb these alien
groups. Military campaigns were followed by
the establishment of colonies of soldiers to
construct communication and irrigation waterways

175 a poor, farming family in Anhwei. Having lost his parents in one of the frequent famines that marked the last years of the alien Mongol Dynasty (1260 to 1368), the orphan became a novice at the Buddhist Monastery of Huang-chüeh in Feng-yang, Anhwei Province. Forced out of his refuge by a bandit raid, Chu joined one of the marauding gangs in the vicinity and quickly rose to a position of leadership. Having made himself master of the lower Yangtze valley, he pressed into the Yellow River area, drove out the Mongols from their capital at Peking, and became ruler of all China in 1368 under the reign title of Hung Wu. The national capital was maintained at the original seat of the ruling house in Nanking until 1409, when a son of Hung Wu usurped the throne from the dynastic founder's grandson and moved the political center of the country to his own power base at Peking.²⁴

I. New Elements in Chinese Thought

- 812 While the Southern Sung maintained its capital at Hangchow, Chekiang and Fukien became the cultural heart of China. It was during this period that Fukien contributed its most notable figure to Chinese history -- Chu

24. Latourette, op. cit., pp. 286-87; Eberhard, A History of China, pp. 252-54, 258-59, 268-69.

812 • Hsi (1130 to 1200). He is known throughout China as the last and most important of a line of Sung thinkers who reworked Confucianism into the form which became the predominant orthodoxy of the scholar class and the state down to the nineteenth century. The fresh interpretation, known as neo-Confucianism, synthesized in one doctrine elements of conflicting Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist interpretations of the universe, man's place in it, and the means to understanding their interrelation, nature, and functions.²⁵

More than three centuries later, one of the great personages of Chekiang, Wang Yang-ming (Wang Shou-jen, 1472-1529), took issue with Chu Hsi's idea that the "investigation of things" -- usually interpreted as the study of ancient literature and the past -- was the key to understanding the nature of man and the universe. Wang maintained that the mind of man himself was the source of knowledge, and that the goal of thought was to understand oneself and the immediate world in order to translate knowledge into action.²⁶ After Wang's fresh attempt to resolve the ancient problem of the relationship between knowledge and action, it

25. A short and readable account of the thought and influence of Chu Hsi is available in Creel, Chinese Thought, pp. 206-12; and Latourette, op. cit., pp. 257-64.

26. Creel, Chinese Thought, pp. 213-16.

- 812 constituted a major element of concern in the ideas of subsequent thinkers. The strain is apparent in the political ideas of such modern figures as Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek and in the pre-Communist and Communist writings of Fung (Feng) Yu-lan, one of modern China's leading philosophers.²⁷

III. THE MODERN PERIOD

177 A. The Invasion of the West

Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, the East China Region was subject to the intrusion of western military, material, and economic forces. They carried with them new secular and religious ideas incompatible with the traditional cosmological, social, political, and economic views of China. These forces for change coincided with a phenomenon which had been repeated many times over the centuries in China -- the decline of the ruling dynasty with an accompanying abuse of power and growth of disorder.²⁸

27. See David S. Nivison, "The Problem of 'Knowledge' and 'Action' in Chinese Thought since Wang Yang-ming," Studies in Chinese Thought, Arthur F. Wright, ed., Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 112-45. Also see Nivison's Communist Ethics and Chinese Tradition, Cambridge, Mass., Mass., Institute of Technology, 1954.

28. [see the following page]

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156 This is the basic principle: utter subordination of the individual to the Party. But when we examine some of the personal qualities which the Communists want, we find them linked in many ways to Chinese tradition. The good Communist is "able to love others and hate others." (A phrase from the Analects of Confucius); that is, he never injures his comrades for his own benefit, but fights vigorously the enemies of the revolution. Toward his comrades his attitude is one of "genuineness and sympathy." (Analects) He does "nothing to others that he would not have done to himself." (Analects) He "grieves before all the rest of the world grieves and is happy only after all the rest of the world is happy." (Buddhist ideal of the Bodhisattva-savior, adapted by an eleventh century Confucian thinker.) He "has no individual apprehensions or private desires to obscure and pervert his investigation of things and understanding of true principles," (a restatement of the late Confucian view of purity of mind as being necessary for true knowledge.)³⁸

[36. continued] University, 1954, p. 15. Nivison's study will appear in symposium Thought and Officialdom in China, University of Chicago Press, early in 1956.

37. Liu Shao-ch'i "On the Training of the Communist Party Member," in Compton, op.cit., p. 110. Nivison, op. cit., p. 18, points out that this prescription is close to classic descriptions of traditional virtue of chung -- absolute loyalty to superiors.

38. These characterizations are all from the authoritative treatise by Liu Shao-ch'i, ibid., translated in Compton, op.cit., pp. 108-55. Traditional sources are identified by Nivison, op.cit., pp. 19-20.

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156 To attain these and other "good" qualities, the Communist, like his Confucian ancestors, is to pattern his character after approved models and to subject himself to intensive self-cultivation. In traditional China, the models of character and behavior found in the classics and histories were to be studied and followed by individuals who manifested a particular virtue, filial piety, for example, were required reading. Now the Communists set up Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao as personal models; everyone is capable of attaining the great qualities of these revolutionary geniuses if he tries.³⁹ Even selected heroes from China's "feudal" past are recommended as models.⁴⁰ Such models are presented in fiction, in textbooks, in newspapers, and young and old are urged to emulate these heroes. In addition, "model" workers, farmers, soldiers are feted and publicized, and their pictures and idealized biographies appear in all propaganda media.

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812 Self-cultivation consists of being unremittingly conscious of one's faults and of Communist ideals, of being ever alert, in study and action, to the recrudescence of "bad" attitudes which are the residue of one's pre-Communist education. Liu Shao-ch'i stresses the development consciousness in the individual; through consciousness one is free from the determining forces of history and

39. Liu Shao ch'i, op.cit., quoted in Nivison, p. 16.

40. Ch'en Sang, "Tang-hsing Yu Ssu Cheng-huo," [Party Nature and Private Life], in Lun Tang Yu Ko-jen [On the Party and the Individual] by Chen Po-ta and others, Hong Kong reprint, 1948, p. 3, cited in Nivison, op.cit., p. 76, note 16.

829 is typically and authoritatively expressed by Liu Shao-ch'i:

"It is in the course of the long struggle of men as social beings against nature, that men's physical form...; their social relations, their forms of social organization as well as their brains, ideology, etc., are all continuously being changed and improved...."46

829 The traditional Chinese view of causation was related to their views of time and change.
812 Sequences of events were seen to have a certain regularity, but not that of cause and effect. Night follows day, but day is not the cause of night. 47
Through education one learned how to identify situations and to know the sorts of things that might happen. One learned to place oneself advantageously in a sequence of situations. The Communists seek to replace this older view with the Marxist idea of causation. A student is to learn the Marxist laws of social development, that certain causes always bring certain effects, and that when one has mastered the laws of causation, one can actively participate in bringing about the desired and inevitable results.

46. Liu Shao-ch'i, "On the Training of the Communist Party Member." For this passage, cf. Current Background, No. , p. 3.

829 The Communist effort to replace the old
812 attitudes toward time, change, and causation with
new ones has tremendous implications. It seeks
to destroy any tinge of fatalism, any inclination
toward resignation, and to foster in the individual
a restless search for the goals set by the Party.

C. Work and Leisure

461 In traditional China, leisure was seen as
a time for replenishment of bodily and psychic
energy; leisure was necessary if one were not
to suffer depletion of vital forces.⁴⁸ Abundant
leisure was also important evidence of member-
ship in the favored social class. In Communist
China, work and vigorous activity are given a
high value; hard work and ceaseless struggle are
characteristic of all the "models" held up before
the people in all the propaganda media. The cease-
less activity of top leaders is meant to set a
pattern for those who follow them. Leisure as a
contemplative bodily replenishment is devaluated,
and active sports which develop competitive spirit
are being promoted. Leisure as a mark of high
status has disappeared.

D. Authority and the Individual

829 The father's relation to his sons was the
model for the exercise of authority in traditional
China. Ideally, the father was to be firm and
aloof, seeing to it rather impersonally that his
children were well cared for and given proper

48. Ibid., pp. 37-40.

814 line. Despite the omnipresent praise for Communist policies, the articles written by anthropologists do indicate that new facts are being discovered; and the fact that these discoveries are financed by the government and are used in the administration of the minority peoples may suggest the favored position held by anthropologists in China today. On the other hand, anthropologists so busily employed by the government are prevented from doing the work they might undertake in a free society.

• 812 In the field of philosophy, especially political philosophy, Mao Tse-tung's books are accepted as of unquestioned authority. His Selected Works has gone through several editions since 1949, each new edition being more beautifully and elegantly printed than the one before, although somewhat changed to suit present political requirements. But Mao has not written any new books since 1949. Political theorists who wrote on socialism before 1949 now limit their writings to short articles published in such journals as The New Reconstruction (Hsin Chien-she), explaining Communist terms and government policies. Fung Yu-lan, the philosopher, has published "Mao Tse-tung's On Practice and Chinese Philosophy," since he made his confession. This article is an attempt to establish some continuity in Chinese

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812 philosophy in the past centuries, especially as it is concerned with the problem of knowledge and action, and to place the various revolutions in the same context. The article attempts to make Mao Tse-tung's ideology seem respectable, but it adds nothing to the development of philosophy. This state of affairs is necessarily the case since "truth" was declared in Marxian writings before 1949, and there is no room for new ideas except in commentaries on "orthodox views." Cadres and students must study Party and government documents in the light of Marxian texts. By attacking "wrong" views, "correct" dialectic materialist views are vindicated. The recent attack on Hu Shih's "bourgeois" philosophy illustrates this point.¹⁸

C. Fiction

538 The greater part of the East-China Region came under Communist control after North China and Manchuria had been conquered. This region was therefore not the first to face problems of industrial recovery, agricultural revival, the land reform, and the liquidation of anti-Communist forces. Since Communist

18. Criticism on Hu Shih's Ideology (3 vols.), Peking, San-lien shu-tien, 1955.